













THE WILMOT PROVISIO—ITS HISTORY—THE  
VIEWS OF ITS ORIGINATORS AND OF ITS  
DEMOCRATIC OPPONENTS IN THE FREE  
STATES—DAVID WILMOT—ROBERT DAL  
OWEN.

[illegible]

"The Proviso, sir, was not hatched up in a  
 cabal or caucus. The occasion which called for

"I have given a brief history of the Provisional Committee, its introduction into Congress. In no conversation or consultation that I heard, touching it, was the subject of President-making introduced. Its feet upon Presidential candidates was never my knowledge, the theme of speculation. Its effect upon them *since*, has been pretty clear to be seen. The merits of the measure, and the propriety of the time and occasion of bringing it forward, only were canvassed. I trust I have sufficient to exculpate me from the charge of hostility to the Administration, or of scheming for a Presidential candidate in 1845. Now, sir, to the merits."

The constitution was adopted as the fundamental law of this Republic. It prescribes duties and defines the powers of the General Government. At the time of its formation it was understood that the slave trade in Africa and in others it was prohibited. The slave States, before entering the Union, desired certain concessions or compromises, touching their peculiar institution. They insisted upon guards against the introduction of new States, and a part of the General Government. Accordingly, a whole question of slavery in the States *separated*, was by the Constitution left to those States respectively, each within its individual jurisdiction, and within the limits of its own laws, had the sole and exclusive control over the whole question of slavery—to regulate it, to abolish it at the time and in the manner it should think proper, and to extend or restrict the introduction of new slaves, by which

"Sir, we are not without examples and precedents for our guide. . . . Our fathers at an early day made a compromise with slavery, and it is reasonable, in these days of 'compromise,' to see why a compromise they made with slavery. . . . In 1787, when the delegates from the territory north of the Ohio, of the Ohio. This ordinance, however, was not the 'compromise' they made. The Northwest Territory had been ceded to the United States, and the slave States. The law of slavery extended over it at the time of its cession, and in some parts of it the slave trade was carried on. . . . Our fathers, however, were not content with this. They gave the people of freedom. . . . Here was *Abolition* . . . . The people were very much excited, and very soon repelled, and the law of freedom established. . . . The Proviso does not even propose to do this. It only says, 'no slave trade.' . . . It does not, in any way, not to abrogate the law of slavery. . . . The first Congress under the Constitution recognized the law of slavery, and the law of the slave trade. . . . It gave force to it. It had recourse to the vote of every Representative from the slave States. . . . The law of slavery was not only recognized, but it was incorporated in a similar ordinance, drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, in 1784. . . . The language of the ordinance is, 'no slave trade.' . . . The ordinance of 1784, as drafted by Thomas Jefferson

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**SLAVERY EXTENSION QUESTION.**  
**Important subject. Slavery-restricting Provision**  
 1846, 1857, and in 1874. **Argument with Win-**  
**Result, to the peace bill, of the Wilmot Pro-**  
**Unfair judgment of motives. Missouri Comp-**  
**mise; shall it extend to the Pacific? Reasons ag-**  
**this. The course of events against it. The atten-**  
**to have it sanctioned by Congress defeated.**  
**importance of future boundary beyond the Rio Gra-**  
**Line suggested, by R. D. O., by Calhoun. No-**  
**line suggested. If the South desire it let the**

one of the most important political subjects of day; on slavery, and its extension to territory

[illegible]

to exclude such a Province from the bill. I was told that the Province was very, or were not prepared to vote its assent from new territory, but because they favoured the bill, they would vote for it. I was told that the Province was very, or were not prepared to vote its assent from new territory, but because they favoured the bill, they would vote for it. I was told that the Province was very, or were not prepared to vote its assent from new territory, but because they favoured the bill, they would vote for it.

The vote on the Wilmot Proviso, given by self and by other members from free St. (though it has not, that I know of, been used by my own injury in this district), has drawn down upon us, in some Northern and Eastern papers, bitter denunciations, as pro-slavery men, deserters from the holy cause of Liberty, and so on. There is little sense, and less justice, in such imputations.

Suppose that we, on the other hand, casting blind eyes over present regarding uncharitable

Nor is the conclusion just, that those who to keep the Wilmot Proviso out of the peace are in favor of extending the principle of what is called the "Missouri Compromise" across the continent, to the Pacific Ocean. Many of those who thus voted, are not. I, for one, am not, and others who did not vote for the Proviso, recorded our votes *against* such extension.

That which goes by the name of the Missouri Compromise is, in fact, a section in the bill which admitted the State of Missouri into the Union, reading as follows:

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Under any law and moral consideration of the Law of Nations, we can avoid the conclusion, if New Mexico and California become our territory, that law will exclude slavery thence, *unless by some positive act of legislation we establish it there.* There is an opinion of our own Supreme Court, which supports this view of the case. Here it is:

The domestic institution of slavery must think, be included among those laws which regulate the intercourse and general conduct of individuals;" and in that case, according to the above opinion, slavery must be expressly imposed upon California by a change of law enacted by its new master, or it will not by law exist there at all. And if so, no Missouri Compromise is necessary to exclude it from territories north of thirty-six and a half, nor any Wilmot Proviso shut it out south of that parallel.

"It is the desire and intention of the United States to come to California as speedily as possible a free Government like that of their own territory; and they will very gladly invite the inhabitants to exercise the rights of free citizens in the choice of their own representatives, who may as well have as they deem best adapted to their interest and well-being. But until this takes place, the laws actually in existence, which are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, will continue in force, until they are repealed by competent authority."<sup>27</sup>

In the bill organizing the Oregon Territory, which passed our House, but failed to pass the Senate, there was a section providing that slavery should not exist in the Territory. This provision without difficulty. Then Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, moved to add to the section the following words:

"Inasmuch as the whole of the territory lies north of the line of thirty degrees thirty minutes north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri Compromise."

To add these words would have been an admission that, had the territory lain south of that latitude, slavery would not have been excluded; in other words, it recognized the principle of the Missouri Compromise west to the Pacific.

I do not think this a sound or sufficient argument. Texas, where, previous to annexation slavery existed by law, and where the soil and climate favor cotton and sugar plantations, was admitted without such restriction, and is now a slave State. If California, now free, and with a soil and climate unsuited to the production of cotton, be in our hands still maintained as a slave State, it will be difficult for the South to make up its mind that, in a case of sectional oppression or

ing application to territory not yet acquired. Such provision, however, is not a part of the Constitution, nor is it a legislative act, repugnant, as such provision of law is, and dependent, as such, for its continuance, upon public opinion expressed through the vote of Congress.

It is not a medium of sectional interests, nor is it a disesteemed medium of sectional antipathies, not with Northern prejudice, nor with Southern predilection. I think no worse of slavery to the wise and good men, themselves slaveholders, than I do of the ignorant and bigoted men, who acknowledge that it produces "an unhappy influence on the manners of our people?"

Thomas Jefferson who declared it to be an institution causing "a perpetual exercise of the more odious by the more humane, till it becomes inveterate and degrading submission to the other?"

Thomas Jefferson, a Southern man, who sought to shut out the institution under war-

It can no longer be avoided; nor, if it could, is it desirable. The longer it is postponed, the more inveterate and dangerous will become the hostile feelings between the holding and non-slaveholding States."

If, in these words, Mr. Calhoun expressed the general feeling of the South, let the question come. The North is well prepared to meet it.

ROBERT DALE OWEN

September 9, 1847.

And beauty in the rushing streams,  
There's beauty in the mountain tall,  
That rears on high its regal form—  
Where the red bolts of tempest fall,  
And write the language of the storm.

There's beauty in the glassy lake,  
And in the ocean's sullen roar,  
Whose ebb-tides with music mix,  
Hymning God's praise forevermore.

Beauty and grandeur ever meet  
My eye, at morning or at noon;  
In stars or stones 'neath my feet,  
I see the awful might of Him—

interest which every day would now bring, the calm and quiet weeks we had spent in the Desert. Our encampment looked much the same as it had done every morning for a month. The Arab servants busy in taking down and pitching the tents, and a noisy quarrel going on in the midst—(this morning about a pistol having been stolen from one of the tents;) and the difference was only that there were spectators standing

brook, we let his father's sheep were feeding or  
sloping. We sat down to rest and eat under  
shade of a rock and a spreading tree; and for  
hundredth time since we left Egypt, it occurred  
to me, how little we in England can enter into  
meaning of David, when, in his divine song,  
speaks of the shade of rocks, and of the beauty  
"a tree planted by rivors of water," and all so  
cool images. When one has been slowly po-  
nor, hour after hour, over glaring sands or in  
rocks, under a sun which makes every bit of  
iron or metal, and one's outer clothing, feel sear-  
ing hot, and oppressing one's very breath  
the sight of a patch of dark shade is more  
beyond belief; and when one has dismounted  
felt the coolness of the rocky wall and of

hills and another village which were rich and embosomed in fig and olive orchards. The way between, one of which we were rising, lay in shadow. Before us, perched on a lofty ridge we rose between us and Jerusalem, was the cone of St. Elias, which we were to pass to-morrow. I was sorry to turn away from this view; but had to take the right-hand road, and ride through the narrow streets of the village to the great convent, built over the spot where Jesus is believed by the friars to have been born.

It was too late this evening to see any of the sacred localities; but it was quite enough to see the moonlight streaming in during the whole

ters into that lifeless and melancholy lake. We left the convent and village, and descended the rocky road, with a carriage full of people, to the city of Jerusalem. We knew that Joseph Mary must have come to this way from Jerusalem when summoned to the census; and this was to us than all the sights the Friars had shown us in their convent and village. We were told that the Friars had been in the convent of Elias, but our thoughts were bent toward Jerusalem, and we remembered, however, that here I first saw the bones of the Dead Sea, lying blue in a little bed of white shells.

As soon as I had mounted my ass before the convent of Elias, I saw from our ridge some buildings on the rising ground which now show before us. I was not immediately conscious of the fact that I was looking at the convent of St. Mary. That rising ground was Zion, and the buildings belonged to Jerusalem, though

more commonly known by the name Him. From its depth, and its precipitous rock on its side, I should call it a ravine. This dell contains the lower pool, now dry; and an aqueduct from Solomon's Pool is seen crossing obliquely. Its opposite side is Zion, rising steeply, still terraced for tillage in some places, and crowned by the city wall. To the westward, sweeping away from the ravine of Gihon,

ment—nor will it ever be possible—to speak  
impressions of that hour. We entered by  
Jaffa gate; and every echo of our horses' in  
the narrow, stony, picturesque streets, told  
our hearts, as we said to ourselves that we  
taking up our rest in Jerusalem.

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For the National Era.

MUSINGS.

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BY HENRI ODIERNA.

Have passed away, like the fading grass,  
In all their love and truth.  
Desolate now, and all alone,  
We must tread life's wenny way;  
For the hearts we once loved are cold as the stones  
Shodding no friendly ray.

CANONSBURG, PA., September, 1847.

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THE LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1848, compiled  
BY JOSHUA LEAVITT, and published by the A. A.

**LIBERTY FAIR.**—The third annual sale of useful and fancy articles, by the ladies of the Liberty party, opened in Philadelphia on Tuesday evening, the 21st. The fair was held at the residence of Mrs. J. C. Smith.

The proceeds of the intended sale, for which the Fair committee has commenced active preparation, will be applied in support of the most efficient Anti-Slavery cause, and will be distributed to the various societies.

We contemplate increased activity and good success in the coming year; and we invite all who approve our policy, and desire its success, to aid us by their labor and energy in our exertions to remove public sentiment from its present apathetic and political action on the subject of slavery.

Contributions may be sent to the undersigned, at Marshall street, Philadelphia.

SARA ELDER, Pres.

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*Picture of Slavery for Youth—*by the same. 12 pages, 12 cents.

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April 29--44

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of the cause that he has made arrangements with  
holders of standard works on American Slavery, who  
will be enabled to keep on hand, for sale at wholesale  
and retail, a full supply of the Anti-Slavery literature of the  
country. He will be enabled, thus, to supply the  
demand for the advocates of the cause, and to  
before the minds of our fellow-citizens, the most  
results will be produced; and it is earnestly hoped  
facilities afforded by the establishment of this new  
very Depository will be suitably appreciated.  
The following is a list of the books and advertisements  
complete catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Tracts,  
and, &c., now on hand. Such a list will probably be  
and extensively circulated in the Spring. It may, how-  
ever, be sent, at present, to the friends of the cause,  
well to say, that among a large assortment of Pub-  
lications, we have on hand the following:

Journal of Rev. Charles L. Torrey: Vol. of

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